

Message Text

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ACTION H-03

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O 070858Z JUN 78
FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8577
INFO AMEMBASSY SEOUL IMMEDIATE
SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE
USLO PEKING
COMUSJAPAN YOKOTA AB JA
CINCPAC HONOLULU HI
JCS WASHDC

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 TOKYO 10323

LIMDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: OREP, MARR, JA, CH, US
SUBJECT: STAFFDEL PILLSBURY

REF: (A) SECDEF DTG 030151Z JUN 78, (B) STATE 119000
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SUMMARY: IN ADDITION TO MEETINGS WITH EMBASSY AND USFJ, STAFFDEL PILLSBURY CALLED ON MOFA, JDA CIVILIAN AND MILITARY OFFICIALS, AND CHIEF PRC MILITARY ATTACHE WU DURING JAPAN VISIT. STRESSING ROLE OF BUDGET COMMITTEES IN MEETINGS WITH JAPANESE, HE PROPOSED SETTING UP REGULAR LIAISON BETWEEN COMMITTEE STAFF AND GOJ CIVILIAN AND MILITARY OFFICIALS INVOLVED IN DEFENSE BUDGET PROCESS. MAIN SUBJECT OF MEETING WITH CHINESE WAS JAPAN'S ATTITUDE TOWARD SOVIET UNION. IN WU'S OPINION, WHILE JAPANESE ATTITUDE IMPROVING, THERE SHOULD BE MORE INPUT FROM PROFESSIONAL MILITARY, INCLUDING GREATER COOPERATION WITH US, IN DETERMINING JAPAN'S FOREIGN POLICY TOWARD
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"THE POLAR BEAR." PILLSBURY SUGGESTED IN MOFA MEETING THAT REARMED JAPAN MIGHT BE STABILIZING FORCE. AT JDA HE DISCUSSED PROBLEMS ENTAILED IN DEFENSE BUDGET ANALYSIS SUCH AS NEED TO TAKE INTO ACCOUNT IN NATO-RELATED BUDGET TRANSFER OF UNITS FROM JAPAN IN EVENT OF CONTINGENCY.
END SUMMARY.

1. STAFFDEL MET WITH EMBASSY OFFICERS MORNING JUNE 5 WITH

PRIMARY EMPHASIS OF DISCUSSIONS ON DEFENSE BUDGET PROCESS IN JAPAN AND KEY ACTORS THEREIN. PILLSBURY EXPRESSED INTEREST IN ESTABLISHING REGULAR LIAISON CHANNELS BETWEEN SENATE BUDGET COMMITTEE AND COUNTERPARTS IN DIET, BUT CONCLUDED THAT LACK OF DEFENSE COMMITTEE AND SPECIALIZED STAFF PERSONNEL ON US MODEL WOULD PROBABLY PRECLUDE PRODUCTIVE EXCHANGES AT THIS TIME. OBSERVING THAT THERE WAS INSUFFICIENT REPORTING AVAILABLE ON JAPANESE DEFENSE BUDGET FORMULATION PROCESS, HE SAID HE PLANNED TO TASK DEPARTMENT AND CIA TO PROVIDE MORE.

2. EARLY THAT AFTERNOON PILLSBURY ACCOMPANIED BY EMBOFF, CALLED ON MGEN MATSUNAGA, JOINT STAFF J-5. MOST DISCUSSION CONCERNED COMPARISON OF DEFENSE BUDGET PROCESSES IN US AND JAPAN AND JOINT STAFF'S ROLE IN LATTER. NOTING THAT MOST NATO ALLIES LIKE JAPAN HAD PARLIAMENTARY SYSTEMS WITH SMALL OR NON-EXISTENT SPECIALIZED LEGISLATIVE STAFFS, HE SAID THAT THIS MADE MEANINGFUL INTER-LEGISLATIVE LIAISON DIFFICULT. HE SUGGESTED THAT IT MIGHT BE MORE PRODUCTIVE FOR BUDGET COMMITTEE TO SET UP DIRECT LIAISON WITH EXECUTIVE BRANCH OFFICES IN JAPAN SUCH AS JOINT STAFF. AS AT ALL HIS MEETINGS WITH JAPANESE, PILLSBURY ALSO OUTLINED ROLE OF CONGRESS IN GENERAL AND BUDGET COMMITTEES IN PARTICULAR IN US GOVERNMENT. --" .. "ARTICULAR

3. STAFFDEL THEN CALLED ON MOFA SECURITY DIVISION DIRECTOR
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TAMBA, WHO REITERATED STANDARD GOJ LINE STRESSING QUALITATIVE IMPROVEMENTS AND POTENTIALLY DESTABILIZING EFFECTS OF MAJOR JAPANESE REARMAMENT IN RESPONSE TO QUESTION CONCERNING FUTURE JAPANESE DEFENSE PLANNING. CHARACTERIZING TAMBA'S RESPONSE AS "STANDARD STATE DEPARTMENT-MOFA LINE" PILLSBURY SAID THERE WERE MANY IN USG WHO DID NOT AGREE WITH THAT THINKING AND WHO FELT REARMED JAPAN WOULD BE STABILIZING FORCE, ESPECIALLY VIS-A-VIS EXPANDING SOVIET POWER. TAMBA REPLIED THAT, BASED ON HIS OWN STUDIES AND EXPERIENCE IN SOVIET FIELD, HE BELIEVED SOVIETS COULD ENVISION NO MORE IDEAL SCENARIO IN ASIA THAN THAT OF REARMED JAPAN, WITH NECESSARILY LESS CORDIAL RELATIONS WITH US AND CHINA AND FACED WITH HOSTILITY AND SUSPICION FROM OTHER ASIAN NEIGHBORS. STAFFDEL ALSO MADE STRONG PITCH FOR DEFENSE COST SHARING, NOTING THAT EVEN MAXIMUM AMOUNTS MENTIONED IN PRESS WERE STILL LESS THAN COST OF ONE AIRCRAFT CARRIER. (IN CONVERSATION AT USFJ (0623912, NOTAL) STAFF DEL ARGUED FOR LINKAGE BETWEEN CURRENT US-JAPAN ECONOMIC PROBLEMS AND COST-SHARING, SUGGESTING THIS BE DONE BY SENATORS WHO WOULD MEET WITH KANEMARU DURING LATTER'S WASHINGTON VISIT.) -"." LATTER'S

4. PILLSBURY, ACCOMPANIED BY EMBOFF, CALLED ON CHIEF PRC

MILATT WU HSIN-AN AT CHINESE EMBASSY LATE AFTERNOON JUNE 5.
PILLSBURY ASKED WU FOR HIS VIEWS ON JAPANESE ATTITUDES
TOWARD SOVIET UNION AND ELICITED LENGTHY RESPONSE. WU
SAID THAT ALTHOUGH JAPANESE ATTITUDES WERE CHANGING FOR THE
BETTER, AS COULD BE SEEN BY COMPARING JDA WHITE PAPERS OF
1976 AND 1977, OR RESULTS OF PUBLIC OPINION POLL REPORTING
THAT 75 PER CENT OF JAPANESE PEOPLE APPROVED OF JDA, FOUR
MAJOR OBSTACLES REMAINED WHICH HINDERED JAPAN'S ABILITY TO

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FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO
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DEAL WITH THE SOVIET UNION:

--EXCEPT FOR TWO OR THREE INDIVIDUALS, INCLUDING FORMER
VICE FONMIN HOGEN, THERE WERE NO JAPANESE EXPERTS ON SOVIET
UNION.

--JAPANESE STILL NEEDED TO DO MORE ON COST-SHARING IN ORDER
TO STRENGTHEN US-JAPAN ALLIANCE.

--THERE WAS NEED FOR COMBINED COMMAND CENTER WITH US FORCES.
IN WARTIME SITUATION, THERE WOULD HAVE TO BE ONE COMMANDER,
AND THAT COMMANDER WOULD HAVE TO BE AMERICAN.

--THERE WAS NEED FOR STANDARDIZATION OF WEAPONS, AMMUNITION,
AND COMMUNICATIONS EQUIPMENT WITH US FORCES.

THROUGHOUT HIS RESPONSE, WU REPEATEDLY REFERRED TO "THE
POLAR BEAR" AS JAPAN'S ENEMY. HE BEMOANED FACT THAT JAPAN-

ESE MILITARY POLICY WAS IN HANDS OF MOFA CIVILIANS, WHO, ACCORDING TO WU, COULD NOT SEE "BIG PICTURE," HAD LIMITED STRATEGIC OUTLOOK, AND WERE AFRAID OF SOVIET UNION. AS
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EXAMPLE, HE CITED SINO-JAPANESE PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP TREATY (PFT). ACCORDING TO WU, ALL HIS FELLOW MILATTS IN TOKYO (PRESUMABLY EXCLUDING SOVIET REP) WERE IN FAVOR OF JAPAN'S CONCLUDING TREATY, AND COULD NOT UNDERSTAND JAPANESE HESITANCY. WU SAID HE HAD TO EXPLAIN TO THEM THAT JAPANESE FOREIGN POLICY WAS MADE BY MOFA CIVILIANS, AND MILITARY MEN LIKE THEMSELVES HAD LITTLE INPUT. (FOLLOWING STAFFDEL DEPARTURE FROM CHINESE EMBASSY, WU'S INTERPRETER, HOU KANG, HURRIEDLY CALLED EMBASSY TO EMPHASIZE THAT ENTIRE MEETING WAS CONFIDENTIAL AND "OFF THE RECORD.")

5. FOLLOWING MORNING OF BRIEFINGS/MEETINGS AT USFJ HEAD-QUARTERS, PILLSBURY AND EMBOFF CALLED ON JDA DIRECTOR GENERAL FOR FOREIGN RELATIONS OKAZAKI AFTERNOON JUNE 6. AFTER DISCUSSING INTERNAL JDA ORGANIZATION, CONVERSATION TURNED TO CIVILIAN CONTROL. PILLSBURY EXPRESSED HIS IMPRESSION THAT OFFICERS ASSIGNED FROM OTHER AGENCIES, PARTICULARLY MOFA, HAD CONTROL OVER JDA AND THAT, IN GENERAL, CIVILIAN CONTROL WAS STRONGER AND MORE COMPREHENSIVE IN JAPAN THAN US. OKAZAKI AGREED WITH LATTER OBSERVATION NOTING THAT THIS WAS BASED ON ACCOUNTABILITY TO DIET OF CIVILIAN OFFICERS AND THEIR RESPONSIBILITY FOR ALL ACTIONS BY UNIFORMED SERVICES. IN REGARD TO FORMER POINT, OKAZAKI, ONLY MOFA OFFICER CURRENTLY ASSIGNED TO JDA, SAID THAT REASON FOR SENIOR OFFICERS FROM OTHER AGENCIES WAS THAT JDA HAD NOT BEEN IN EXISTENCE LONG ENOUGH TO HAVE PRODUCED ITS OWN CAREER OFFICIALS ABOVE DIVISION DIRECTOR LEVEL. ONCE THESE OFFICIALS BECAME SENIOR ENOUGH, CONTINUATION OF SENIOR-LEVEL DETAILS FROM OTHER AGENCIES WOULD BE HIGHLY PROBLEMATIC. AT BREAK IN CONVERSATION EMBOFF INQUIRED CONCERNING ACCURACY OF REPORTS THAT PRESS OF DIET BUSINESS MIGHT NECESSITATE CANCELLATION OF EUROPEAN PORTION OF DEFMIN KANEMARU'S PLANNED VISIT TO BRUSSELS (NATO), BONN, AND
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US. OKAZAKI STATED THAT JDA WAS IN DILEMMA AS ITS OFFICIALS, IN ORDER TO AVOID INTERPELLATION, HAD PREVIOUSLY TAKEN LINE THAT NO IMPORTANT BUSINESS WOULD BE CONDUCTED IN EUROPE. NOW THEY WERE CONFOUNDED BY OPPOSITION MEMBERS SAYING THAT, IF THIS WERE CASE, MINISTER SHOULD STAY IN JAPAN UNTIL JUNE 16 DIET ADJOURNMENT. STATING THAT NOTHING

HAD BEEN FIRMLY DECIDED, OKAZAKI SAID ONE OPTION WOULD BE TO DROP NATO STOP (SCHEDULED FIRST) AND BEGIN WITH GERMAN PORTION OF ITINERARY. PILLSBURY ADVISED AGAINST THIS ALTERNATIVE, STATING THAT DROPPING NATO STOP WOULD RISK UNFAVORABLE US CONGRESSIONAL REACTION DUE TO IMPORTANCE US PLACES ON EUROPEAN ALLIANCE IN CONTEXT OF CURRENT SOVIET ACTIONS.

6. IN RESPONSE TO STAFFDEL REQUEST THAT HE HAVE OPPORTUNITY TO MEET UP-AND-COMING CAREER JDA OFFICERS, OKAZAKI ARRANGED MEETING WITH DEFENSE PLANNING DIVISION DIRECTOR FUJII AND SENIOR SYSTEMS ANALYST MINAMI. FOLLOWING DISCUSSIONS OF RELATIVE STATES OF ART OF OPERATIONS RESEARCH AND PROGRAM ANALYSIS IN BOTH COUNTRIES, PILLSBURY OUTLINED CURRENT CHALLENGES FACING DISCIPLINE IN US, STATING THAT BUDGET COMMITTEE WAS CURRENTLY ATTEMPTING TO FORCE MILITARY SERVICES TO ISOLATE NATO-RELATED PORTIONS OF THEIR BUDGETS. HE POINTED OUT THAT THIS SORT OF FUNCTIONAL ANALYSIS WAS DIFFICULT BECAUSE IN EVENT OF NATO CONTINGENCY, MAJOR UNITS

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STATIONED IN JAPAN MIGHT RAPIDLY BE TRANSFERRED TO EUROPE.

7. FOLLOWING FUJII/MINAMI MEETING, PILLSBURY PAID FAREWELL CALL ON OKAZAKI DURING WHICH HE OUTLINED PRC VIEWS ON US-JAPAN DEFENSE RELATIONS (PARA 4 ABOVE), SAID THAT HE HAD BEEN IN CONTACT WITH SENATE BUDGET COMMITTEE STAFF DIRECTOR, WHO HAD RECOMMENDED THAT DEFMIN KANEMARU'S SCHEDULE IN WASHINGTON BE ALTERED TO INCLUDE MEETING WITH CHAIR-

MAN AND RANKING MINORITY MEMBER OF SENATE BUDGET COMMITTEE,
AND SUGGESTED THAT JAPANESE EMBASSY IN WASHINGTON EXTEND
ITS CONTACTS BEYOND STATE DEPARTMENT TO OTHER AGENCIES
AND THE CONGRESS TO OBTAIN WIDER VARIETY OF VIEWS. WHEN
EMBOFF SAID THAT GOJ WAS RECEIVING MESSAGE ON CONGESSIONAL
CONTACTS LOUD AND CLEAR FROM AMBASSADOR MANSFIELD, PILLS-
BURY STATED THAT IT WAS POSSIBLE THAT AMBASSADOR WAS NOT IN
TOUCH WITH CURRENT DEVELOPMENTS IN CONGRESS, PARTICULARLY
ROLE OF BUDGET COMMITTEE. MANSFIELD

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